

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 NEA-06 NSC-05 NSCE-00

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SAM-01 SAB-01 EB-03 PRS-01 /055 W

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7800

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 02114

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, GW, FR

SUBJECT: FRANCO-GERMAN MEETING: MIDDLE EAST AND EURO-
ARAB DIALOGUE ASPECTS

REF: BONN 2018

SUMMARY: DURING THEIR SEMI-ANNUAL SUMMIT CONSULTATIONS,
THE GERMANS AND FRENCH DISCUSSED PROSPECTS FOR THE EURO-
ARAB DIALOGUE WHILE THE FRENCH BRIEFED THE GERMANS ABOUT
THE SADAT VISIT. THE FRG TAKES THE POSITION THAT THE
EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE HAS LONG SINCE BEGUN; SADAT SAYS
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IT BEGAN WITH HIS RECENT PARIS VISIT, WHILE THE FRENCH

ARE SKEPTICAL THAT IT IS AS YET UNDERWAY. DESPITE THESE NUANCES, THE GERMANS AND FRENCH OBVIOUSLY HOPE TO OVERCOME THE PLO PARTICIPATION PROBLEM BY ALLOWING THE ARAB PRESIDENCY TO INCLUDE ANY NON-NATIONAL EXPERT ADVISORS IT MIGHT WISH - EVEN IF THESE "ADVISORS" ARE OF PALESTINIAN ORIGIN. END SUMMARY

1. FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL BRIEFED THE AMBASSADOR ON THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE JUST CONCLUDED FRANCO-GERMAN SEMI-ANNUAL SUMMIT CONSULTATIONS. ECONOMIC ASPECTS WERE COVERED IN REFTEL. THIS TELEGRAM COVERS VAN WELL'S REMARKS CONCERNING CERTAIN DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTERS GENSCHER AND SAUVAGNARGUES THAT WERE LATER PRESENTED TO SCHMIDT AND GISCARD AT THE PLENARY SESSIONS. OTHER TOPICS WILL BE TREATED IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE.

2. SAUVAGNARGUES BRIEFED GENSCHER ABOUT THE SADAT VISIT. ACCORDING TO SADAT, A SECOND ISRAELI DISENGAGEMENT IS A "QUASI-CERTITUDE." SADAT SAID HE HAD RECEIVED SOVIET AGREEMENT THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD BE CONVENED IMMEDIATELY AFTER THIS SECOND ISRAELI DISENGAGEMENT OR, IF NO DISENGAGEMENT OCCURRED, WITHIN THREE MONTHS. THE SOVIETS AND EGYPTIANS HAD ALSO AGREED THAT THE PLO SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE FIRST STAGE OF SUCH A CONFERENCE, BUT THAT IT SHOULD PARTICIPATE AT A LATER STAGE. THESE REMARKS OF SADAT HAD BEEN MADE BEFORE THE GROMYKO VISIT AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN THAT CONTEXT.

3. GENSCHER ASKED WHAT WAS MEANT BY THE PHRASE IN THE COMMUNIQUE TO THE EFFECT THAT "PALESTINIANS HAVE A RIGHT TO A FATHERLAND." SAUVAGNARGUES REPLIED THIS MEANT THAT THE PALESTINIANS HAVE A NEED FOR A TERRITORIAL BASE. GENSCHER ALSO ASKED ABOUT THE PHRASE "RECOGNIZED SECURE AND GUARANTEED FRONTIERS." SAUVAGNARGUES REPLIED THAT IT WAS MOST IMPORTANT THAT EGYPTIANS AGREED TO THIS (PRESUMABLY BECAUSE IT IMPLIED RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXISTENCE). SAUVAGNARGUES REMARKED THAT SADAT HAD SOLICITED A

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MORE ACTIVE ROLE FOR FRANCE AND WESTERN EUROPE IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND AFTERWARDS. FRANCE HAD REFRAINED FROM ENCOURAGING THE EGYPTIANS IN THIS. HOWEVER, FRANCE HAD TOLD SADAT THAT IT ALONG WITH THE REST OF THE EC NINE WAS READY TO PARTICIPATE IN GUARANTEES.

4. THE STATE OF THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE HAD ALSO BEEN

DISCUSSED WITH SADAT. THE FRG'S VIEW WHICH WAS
EXPRESSED TO SAUVAGNARGUES IS THAT THE DIALOGUE
HAS LONG BEEN IN EFFECT. SADAT HAD SAID THAT THE
DIALOGUE BEGAN WITH HIS
DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT GISCARD. FRANCE TAKES
THE POSITION THAT THE DIALOGUE CAN ONLY BEGIN WHEN
THE CONFERENCE CONVENES.

5. VAN WELL AMPLIFIED THE FRG POSITION TO AMBASSADOR
HILLENBRAND IN THE FOLLOWING FASHION. THE DIALOGUE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 02114

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HAS BEGUN BECAUSE THE EC-9 AND ARAB PRESIDENCIES HAVE

MET SEVERAL TIMES. THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN REAL DISCUSSION BETWEEN THEM: FOR EXAMPLE THE SAUDI PROPOSAL OF A EURO-ARAB INVESTMENT BANK. SECRETARY GENERAL RIAD HAS ASKED THE EC-9 PRESIDENCY TO PREPARE A DOCUMENT OF ACTUAL PROJECTS WHICH MIGHT BE ENVISAGED. SUCH A DOCUMENT SHOULD ONLY INCLUDE THOSE PROJECTS WHICH GO BEYOND THE BILATERAL FIELD. THE GROUPE DE COORDINATION EXPECTS TO HAVE PREPARED SUCH A PAPER BY THE BEGINNING OF MARCH. ACCORDING TO VAN WELL, THE QUESTION HAS ALSO BEEN RAISED AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THE RESPECTIVE PRESIDENCIES SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY TECHNICAL EXPERTS. THE GERMAN AND FRENCH

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GOVERNMENTS AGREE THAT THEY MAY BE AS LONG AS THESE EXPERTS DON'T REPRESENT INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS. VAN WELL NOTED THAT "PALESTINIANS" MIGHT BE INCLUDED AMONG THE TECHNICAL EXPERTS ACCOMPANYING THE ARAB LEAGUE PRESIDENCY.

6. VAN WELL REFLECTED CONSIDERABLE OPTIMISM THAT THE PLO REPRESENTATION PROBLEM WOULD BE OVERCOME. HE SAID THAT THE ARABS WERE VERY ANNOYED WITH THEMSELVES FOR HAVING DELAYED THE PROGRESS OF THE DIALOGUE BY INSISTING ON PLO PARTICIPATION. THEY TOO WISHED TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

7. VAN WELL SAID THAT THE SCENARIO WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE EC-9 MINISTERS AT THEIR MEETING ON THE 13TH IN DUBLIN. THE EC-9 PRESIDENCY MUST THEN SOUND OUT THE ARABS. PUBLICITY WILL BE DOWNPLAYED SINCE THE DUBLIN MEETING WILL COINCIDE WITH THE PERIOD OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS.

8. COMMENT: FOR DETAILS OF EXPERT DISCUSSIONS AS GERMANS ENVISAGE THEM, SEE PARA 2 OF BONN 1430. THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS MADE THE POINT TO US ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION THAT WHAT IS BEING AVOIDED THROUGH THIS SCHEME IS FORMAL ACCEPTANCE OF A PLO DELEGATION WITH NAMEPLATE, ETC. IT IS INEVITABLE, HOWEVER, IN THE GERMAN VIEW THAT THERE WILL BE PALESTINIANS AMONG THE EXPERTS, SINCE THE ADVISORS TO A NUMBER OF ARAB GOVERNMENTS ON THE SORT OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL SUBJECTS LIKELY TO BE DISCUSSED ARE IN FACT PALESTINIANS. THIS WOULD EASE TO SOME EXTENT RIAD'S PROBLEM OF MAKING THIS EXPERT-LEVEL DIALOGUE ACCEPTABLE TO LEAGUE MEMBERS.

HILLENBRAND

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